l: Karsten--97-98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
512, 286 (1928-29)

"When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names."

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

dawning, get up, get up!"). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual nihamánchi (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekínturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the

men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house. --All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a-

rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterised as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

1; Karsten--442
512

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body."

3: Simson--387-388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 512

"They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the 'bodoquera,' making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha [388] mass--their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves."

"During our sojourn among the Antipas in their homes, I had many an opportunity of studying their every-day lives. You walk into a hut and a typically domestic scene presents itself. The women are seated on their heels about a great earthenware jar of freshly boiled [219] mama (arrowroot--Jívaro). Some are half-clothed, some not clothed at all. Those who have lost their husbands in war must pick up what cloth they can, the cast-offs of their luckier neighbours whose menfolk still live to weave for them. A monkey or two is pottering about, chewing bananas, and even a tame paujil is perched on a cross-beam, uttering its peculiar call. A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the giamanchi, the staff of life. (Preserved with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air. When the time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tastes like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 80 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent. Cooked when fresh, it is light and fluffy--a delicious vegetable

dish.

One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)

Six or eight fires are smouldering round the walls, one for each wife. On a meat-rack steaks from a freshly killed huangana (wild hog--Inca) are being cured, and their smell fills the house."

4: Up de Graff--220-221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1

116, 512

"Leaving the women to their daily task of chewing, after having accepted the giamanchi proffered by one, we pass outside to where a group of bucks are engaged in wild conversation. They are, to all appearances, imitating the action of a trombone player. Their right hands fly to and fro from their mouths to the full extent of their arms, palms inwards. Their tones are loud and deep, and the light in their dark eyes betrays their emotion. They are talking of war; this we know, for only then do they indulge in these gestures and forced tones.

Nearby in the forest rises the smoke of many fires, and the thudding of the axes is heard as the party works on a new dugout. Over there comes a string of women heavily laden with yuca, bananas, and faggots cut from the chacra. Entering another house, we find a man at work on a blow-gun, with a pot of boiling beeswax at his elbow, his hair wound round his neck to keep it from the fire. A boy of some ten years is eagerly helping his father to complete the weapon which is to be his. Soon he will be off into the woods after humming-birds, which will give him plenty of chances to perfect his aim before his lungs are strong enough to allow him to take his place amont the hunters of his tribe, with real poisoned arrows. Grouped at the door under the shade [221] of a pántam (banana plant--Jívaro) are half a dozen women making baskets. They manipulate the split rattans with ease and dexterity, weaving intricate patterns, and producing baskets of great strength. They are made in pairs, one set slightly smaller than

the other; the larger is then lined with a specially tough palm-leaf and the smaller is placed inside it. The two are then sewn together round the top, and a cover, composed of another pair of baskets is hinged to the first. The result is a durable, rainproof receptacle, which is used for packing anything and everything, or for storing household goods; those which are destined for packing only are made three feet high and two feet broad. I learned the art of making them myself on the Yasuní, and the knowledge stood me in good stead."

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is [600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

20: Dyott-154-155 (no date) 1928 Jivaro
116, 512, 157

"By six o'clock the whole family was astir. Kuashu and his two youngest boys, Wesumu and Humbikti, formed and animated group in the centre of the house, talking over plans for the morning. Mikanda, the eldest son, did not join in the conversation. He seemed a surly sort of fellow, for he sat on his rack staring at the floor in a peculiarly detached way as if he had no interest in what was going [155] on about him. His wife, Secouta, equally absorbed, crouched by the fire with her small son Katani alongside of her. The latter was a nice little child seven or eight years old, naked as the day he was born, with a clean brown skin and dark hair falling over his shoulders. He squatted on his haunches, like a rabbit sitting up in the grass, and made quite an attractive picture."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sually from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons, of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons, and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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273 462 • 512 [252] [293] serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a [224] large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring [252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat.

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a coped torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar:

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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279 462 • 572 913 [482] and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook more and continues working. Presently she goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

[252] [252] [262]

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 2 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.[1]

[606] [535] [262] [956] [606]

224 [196] [202] [136] [222] [136] Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 50 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

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edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.

224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
• 512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he hunts, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade